

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 34 Monday, September 26, 1966 Price 10c

N. Y. SWP Files 19,562 Petitions

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party filed independent nominating petitions with the secretary of state's office in Albany, Sept. 16, bearing 19,562 signatures. The petitions nominate Judy White for Governor, Richard Garza for Lt. Governor, Paul Boutelle for Attorney General and Ralph Levitt for Controller.

To qualify for a place on the New York ballot, a minority party must obtain a minimum of 12,000 signatures of registered voters through the state, with a minimum of 50 coming from 62 of the state's 63 counties. Less than 50 in any county disqualifies the entire petition.

Because the capitalist parties have regularly sought to deprive minority parties of their rightful place on the ballot by challenging their nominating petitions, the SWP made certain that it had at least twice the required number in each county, as well as the 7,000 additional for the entire state.

Meanwhile, Rita Shaw, SWP campaign manager, announced the party was in the process of securing independent endorsements for the SWP nominees on the basis of their opposition to the Vietnam war.

The names of those endorsing the ticket will appear in newspaper advertisements declaring that while they may not necessarily agree with other planks in the SWP program, they are urging people to vote for the ticket as a means of registering opposition to the Vietnam war.

With the drive to secure such independent endorsement just under way, the following are among those who have already



Judy White

announced their support to the SWP ticket:

Maxwell Geismar, the literary critic; Jose Yglesias, author of *Wake in Ybor City*; John Gerassi, author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*; Prof. Emile Capouya, author and critic; Scott Nearing, long-time socialist writer and lecturer; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, literary critic; Dr. Ephraim Cross, attorney and professor; Felix McGowan, former Maryknoll priest; Charlotte Pomerantz, editor of *A Quarter of a Century of Americana*; Chris Kearns of the *Catholic Worker* and James Mellen of the *Free University of New York*.

Those who wish to add their names to the list of endorsers may write to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee at 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. (Continued on Page 6)

Antiwar Parley Calls Nat'l Protest Action

By Harry Ring

A significant and highly encouraging move toward broadening and uniting the forces opposed to the Vietnam war was taken at a conference held in Cleveland Sept. 10-11. Composed of the broadest spectrum of antiwar activists yet assembled on a national scale, the conference decided to organize a national mobilization Nov. 5-8 for peace in Vietnam and for economic justice and human rights.

The possibility was also projected of a further action in the winter and a massive East and West Coast mobilization in the spring.

The conference was initiated by three professors associated with the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, the group that organized the internationally publicized national teach-in in Washington last year.

The three professors are Douglas Dowd and Robert Greenblatt of Cornell University and Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University. Dowd is chairman of the Inter-University Committee. Greenblatt and Peck are members of its executive committee.

Members of the University Circle Teach-In Committee of Cleveland acted as hosts to the conference.

At the request of the sponsors, A. J. Muste, chairman of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, was chairman of the conference.

Invitations to the meeting were issued on the basis of the principle that everyone opposed to the war in Vietnam was welcome to participate, and that no one would be excluded because of political beliefs.

In addition to members of 25 community and campus Committees to End the War in Vietnam and other local antiwar groups, the 140 participants included members of these organizations:

American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Clergy Concerned About Viet-

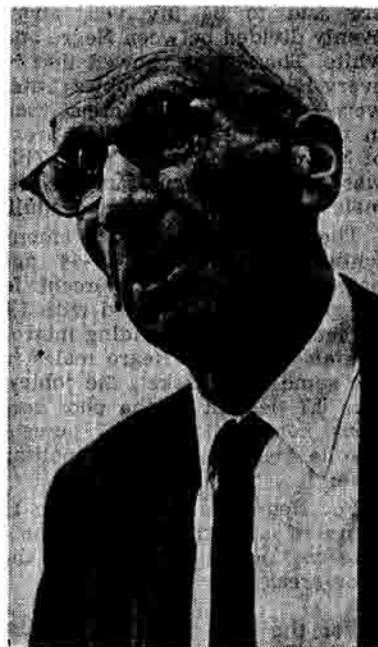


Photo by Finer

A. J. Muste

nam, Students for a Democratic Society, Committee for Non-Violent Action.

Also SNCC, the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter,

the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Youth Against War and Fascism, the National Conference of New Politics and *Ramparts* magazine.

Also, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Methodist Students of Ohio, Massachusetts Pax and the Bay Area United Committee Against the War.

The conference agreed to coordinate a national antiwar mobilization Nov. 5-8 in order to focus the attention of the electorate on the war and to make it more difficult for the politicians to sweep the issue under the rug.

Because of the diversity of views of the participants, it was agreed that during the mobilization, the various groups and areas would organize the type of activity most congenial to their general outlook, with the conference presenting a series of suggestions for possible activities and themes for these activities.

There appeared to be general agreement on the desirability of the national mobilization stressing the theme of immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Also emphasized was the need (Continued on Page 3)

Cleveland Conference Hits Attempts to Destroy SNCC

The conference of opponents of the Vietnam war held in Cleveland Sept. 10-11 adopted a resolution condemning the attacks on SNCC and calling on the peace movement to rally behind SNCC. The resolution was adopted shortly after the jailing of SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael on charges of "inciting to riot." Bail was originally set at \$11,000 for Carmichael, but he was finally released on \$1,000 bail.

The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Cleveland conference.

* * *

A national effort is being waged to vilify and destroy the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee because of its uncompromising advocacy of the rights of all peoples, especially the black people of the United States and the people of Vietnam.

One of the key instances of the past week was the action of the Atlanta, Ga., police department and its White Power structure. Armed with shotguns and tear gas, they brutally quashed a demonstration by black citizens of that city. These people were enraged by the shooting of one of their neighbors by a white policeman. Through the exercise of their constitutional rights they were attempting to make their voices heard in a decision concerning the conduct of the police in their own community. Not stopping with the gassing and beating of demonstrators, the city administration then made a series of political arrests, including that of Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC.

Earlier in Atlanta, after a highly publicized anti-draft demonstration, SNCC workers had been jailed, charged with "insurrection" and a joint bail of \$36,000 levied against them.

In the midst of these events, the Vice President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey, telephoned the mayor of Atlanta to express support of the city's ac-

tions. Mr. Humphrey's statement amounted to an approval of a domestic parallel to American foreign policy: in Vietnam the United States suppresses revolution and self-determination by napalm and then casts the blame for the resulting devastation upon those who are attempting to determine for themselves their own form of government. At home, in a similar manner, the guilt for "inciting a riot" is placed — not upon the policeman who pulled the trigger — but upon Stokely Carmichael and SNCC.

Mr. Carmichael and SNCC step on the toes of the timid when they openly assert that there is such a thing as Black Power.

We in the peace movement will not be divided from those in the civil rights movement by distorted press, threats of intimidation and vilification from high places. We strongly urge all Americans to express solidarity with SNCC and Stokely Carmichael by sending protest wires to Mayor Ivan Allen and Vice President Humphrey and by sending contributions to SNCC toward the excessive bonds set for those arrested.



Stokely Carmichael

PERUVIAN TRIAL ENDS

Hugo Blanco Given 25 Years

(World Outlook) — The Peruvian military authorities, acting as both prosecution and judge, sentenced Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyist peasant leader, to 25 years in El Frontón, the grim prison in the harbor of Lima. His comrade and co-defendant Pedro Candela was given 22 years, likewise in El Frontón. Six others in the case were given sentences ranging up to five years in prison. Besides the sentences, the court levied damages and fines amounting to 160,000 soles [almost \$6,000].

Up to the final moment on Sept. 8, it was feared that the military might carry out the plan they had reportedly envisaged — giving Hugo Blanco the death sentence. Evidently they reconsidered in view of the reaction that was visible even in the small town of Tacna where people lined up for admission into the large hall where the court was held and where the audience clearly favored the prisoners, at times expressing such sympathy that the judge had to clear the court.

Despite the fierce repression in Peru and all the efforts to rail-

road the trial through in a hurry in the remote town of Tacna, near the border of Chile, it was clearly evident that nationwide sympathy for the prisoners was rapidly building up. Each day of the trial

was featured in sensational headlines in the Lima press. Despite the garbled accounts, the heroic stand of the defendants broke through and some of the things they said echoed throughout the country.

In addition, expressions of international sympathy were mounting. If Hugo Blanco were condemned to death these could rise to a storm of protest. Evidently the military decided that it was better to give him a long sentence in the notorious dungeons of El Frontón. After the first flurry of protest, perhaps the military believes it can dispose of him in a quiet way.

In Peru, where students and unionists were mobilizing support for the defendants, the reaction to the illegal trial and long sentences was immediate.

The student federation at the Universidad Agraria placed an advertisement in the Lima daily *Expreso* Sept. 11 demanding annulment of Hugo Blanco's sentence and petitioning parliament to throw out the Military Code which is being used to try political (Continued on Page 3)

Blanco Solidarity Meeting in N.Y.

NEW YORK — A meeting in solidarity with Hugo Blanco and other victims of political repression in Latin America will be held at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday evening, Sept. 30.

Speakers at the meeting will include: Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*, John Gerassi, author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*; Pedro Juan Rua of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*; and Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lt. Governor of New York.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

A report on the state of the economy, submitted Aug. 11 by Johnson's cabinet, admits that hourly wage rates have gone up less since 1960 than output per man-hour. So it is no surprise that stock dividends were said to have increased 49 percent since 1960, whereas the average weekly earnings of factory workers went up only 25 percent. Noting that this combination of developments "improves business profit rates," the report adds, "This is one of the sources of complaint by some of our labor people."

"If there is inflation," says the AFL-CIO News of Aug. 6, "it is profit inflation." According to the union paper, corporation profits rose in the second quarter of 1966 primarily through price increases since unit labor costs were relatively static. Profits before taxes for the period exceeded \$83 billion, 13 percent higher than for the same period last year.

The union statisticians also reported that corporation profits after taxes went up 67 percent between 1960 and 1965, but wages and fringe benefits for the same period increased only 33 percent.

Corporation lawyers are moving through a special committee of the American Bar Association to start a campaign for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Their opening gambit is a call for compulsory arbitration of disputes in the airline, railroad and maritime industries. Specifically, they advocate "Congressional legislation authorizing the agencies which regulate the rates and allocate the services of the carriers in these industries to make final determinations on disputed issues, when federal mediation during the emergency waiting period (under the Railway Labor Act) fails to produce a settlement."

The U.S. Labor Department has issued a preliminary report on a special unemployment survey taken last March. It covers the

poorest 20 percent of residents in cities with a population of 250,000 or more. Some 12 million persons are said to be involved, about evenly divided between Negro and white. The survey showed that in every labor category, jobless rates were higher in those areas than in the general metropolitan areas of which they were a part. This was true of Negro and white, male and female, youth and adult.

The unemployment rate among white males in the 25-44 age bracket averaged 5.2 percent in the poor areas, compared with 1.9 percent in the surrounding metropolitan areas. For Negro males in the same age bracket, the jobless was 8.7 percent in the poor sections, compared with 3.7 percent in the rest of the metropolitan area.

For Negro males from 16 to 19 years of age, the unemployment rate was put at 33 percent in the poor areas.

For the first time, the Mississippi AFL-CIO has elected a Negro to its state executive board. He is Robert Woodson of Carpenters Local 3031 in Jackson. The local's membership is composed about equally of Negroes and whites.

During one week last July, about 93,000 Canadian workers were off the job, according to figures released by the Federal Department of Labor. There were 339 strikes across Canada in the first half of 1966, a third more numerous than those a year ago. In Sherbrooke, Quebec, more than 5,000 textile workers have been on strike since last March.

Wage demands, stemming from the pressures of rising prices, have been the principal issue. A press statement by an unnamed labor official holds "young union hot-heads" responsible for what are termed "wildcat strikes."

"NEW YORK — TWU's legal victory early this month in its defense against more than \$100 million worth of damage suits arising out of Local 100's 12-day strike last January was hailed as an important precedent decision for labor unions throughout the nation.

"The ruling by State Supreme Court Justice Francis T. Murphy, Jr., freed TWU, Local 100 and the Amalgamated Transit Union of liability in 70 claims ranging from one of \$4.80 to one as high as \$25 million . . .

"The court held that the unions could not be sued for damages because there had been no proof that any one person or company was deliberately damaged as a result of the strike." — TWU Express, August, 1966.

Southern Antiwar Parley Slated in New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS, La. — The New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam will sponsor a Southwide organizers conference here Sept. 30, Oct. 1 and 2. Workers with experience in the South will lead workshops in antiwar tactics, how to investigate war industries, how to uncover and deal with war profiteers, how to fight the draft, how to mobilize student action, how to run third-party candidates and how to organize local antiwar chapters.

Among the workshop leaders will be Jack Minnis of SNCC and Anne Braden of SCEF.

Registration on Sept. 30 will take place at the Quorum Club, 611 Esplanade Ave. (Phone 947-9145.) Other numbers to call on arrival in New Orleans are: 523-4580, 944-5445, 947-9145.

Curb on Corporations?

Johnson's Anti-Inflation Move

By Dick Roberts

President Johnson's Sept. 9 request to congress to suspend tax incentive for business investment, as a way of combating inflation, was immediately hailed by the liberal press, and it was criticized, though not very firmly, by the business world. That was what was supposed to happen.

Johnson's move will be played up by the Democratic Party hacks as evidence that the president really is pro-labor and that he is deeply concerned about the rapid inflation of consumer prices. Such talk makes good electioneering, and that is one of the reasons why the president took this action at this time.

There should be no doubt, however, about the implications of Johnson's move. Federal tax control is a powerful economic tool, and the suspension of these credits could have a significant impact on the future of the economy.

The tax credit allows companies an offset against taxes equal to seven percent of new investment in plant and equipment. That saved businesses about \$2 billion a year since its adoption in 1962, according to the Sept. 3 issue of *Business Week*, and the accelerated depreciation measures saved business an additional \$1.5 billion per year.

Capital Boom

In the period during which the tax credit was in effect, investment in plant and equipment climbed 57 percent after a five-year lull. In 1966 alone, a 17 percent jump is anticipated. Thus, the tax credit accompanied one of the most spectacular capital-spending booms in U.S. history.

The question is, what will happen if it is suspended, and why does the government desire this? The immediate aim is to cut down business investment. This would have a tendency to reduce the inflation of interest rates because it would mean a correspondingly smaller demand on the part of corporations for bank loans for new investment.

A decrease in bank loans would decrease the money demand, and banks would have to charge lower interest rates. This would stop the flow of money into loans which would revive the stock market, and it might have some effect on consumer prices. That's where Johnson's Sept. 9 speech left off.

Effect on Worker

What the president failed to talk about was the effect that all this would have on the worker directly — that is, on employment. A lay-off in capital spending would certainly lead to a decrease in employment because workers would lose jobs wherever investment ceased. Building, construction, machine tools and related industries would be hit heavily.

Prior to the 1962 tax measures, it must be remembered, the Ken-



Johnson

nedy administration had been unable to bring the unemployment level much below five percent — let alone the 3.5 percent figure Kennedy promised in his campaign. Now, unemployment has gotten down to about 3.9 percent, and the Democrats are calling for economic measures which will start shoving it back up again.

And the fact of the matter is, that is precisely what Wall Street wants. It is not high prices and high interest rates that worry financial circles, after all.

Corporations are raking in record-high profits and so are banks. But the capitalists really are concerned about the employment level.

Capitalists' Worry

This concern was spelled out in the Sept. 12 issue of *U.S. News and World Report*. This magazine made the following predictions about the future of the economy:

●Based on the assumption that U.S. forces in Vietnam would climb to 400,000 by the end of this year, to 500,000 by mid-1967 and to 600,000 by the end of 1967, "the armed forces will reach 3.7 million by the end of next year, matching the peak level of the Korean war."

●"Labor shortages — skilled and even unskilled — will grow more severe. Unemployment, now at 3.9 percent of the work force, will slip to 3.5 percent by next spring and fall to a mere (sic) 3.1 percent by the year-end."

"Manpower available for private, non-defense production will actually decline nearly 100,000, by the end of 1967."

That is what really worries the capitalists. "A manpower squeeze," *U.S. News and World Report* concludes, "is the biggest

single economic worry for the months ahead."

Big business has 10 major contracts staring it in the eyes in the next 18 months, involving a total of over 2,800,000 workers. These include telephone, General Electric and Westinghouse, shoe manufactures, auto, railroads, construction, trucking, farm equipment, food processing and rubber.

And the airline mechanics have already pointed out how unions can use the present employment situation as a powerful lever for higher wages. Thus there is a real threat to the capitalist profiteers and they are keenly aware of it.

To go into the next period with a reserve army of unemployed workers is their ideal target. Then the unions are under pressure to hold on to jobs, the workers feel the threat of unemployment and the capitalists could try to reverse the trend begun by the airline strike. That is their perspective, and that is why they are anxious to "tone down the boom" as they put it.

What they want is higher unemployment.

What they mean by the "manpower squeeze" is the fact that in skilled industry, unemployment is down to two percent. In this light, of course, the 3.9 percent gross unemployment figure given out by the government is misleading. For married men, unemployment is at 1.7 percent.

Labor Shortage

For white workers, it stands at 3.4 percent; for Negro workers, it was 8.2 percent in August. For white teenagers, it was 12 percent, and for Negro teenagers, it was a gigantic 27 percent.

So Johnson's plan to reduce the tax credit is quite sensible in terms of the problems immediately facing the capitalists. It will tend to relieve the labor shortage imposed by the Vietnamese war and the boom spending.

The only thing that needs to be added is that it will do this by filling up the ranks of the unemployed. A few percentage point changes in the overall figure is bad enough; this neglects to take into consideration that two percentage points in the ranks of white unemployed could correspond to 10 or 20 percentage points in the ranks of Negro teenagers.

The shallow business criticisms of Johnson's tax measures are for the record only. Wall Street is one hundred percent behind some kind of "inflation control" at this point, which will cut back on labor's power, and they have been shouting about this for week after week . . . particularly since the airline strike.

Finally, it should be noted that reduction of tax credits is only a pre-election step. It doesn't rule out much stronger measures which could be taken after November. Once back in office, the capitalist politicians may resort to an income tax increase, or even direct wage-freezes, measures which would cost the workers and consumers considerably more than these measures cost industry.

The bourgeoisie is betraying its revolutionary past in order to protect its capitalist privileges and maintain itself as the ruling class. Having captured power it is unwilling to abdicate it to the people. And so the bourgeoisie must gradually become fossilized. It is becoming the ally of reaction, clericalism, and militarism. I must emphasize again and again that the bourgeoisie is played out; it has gone over to the reaction in order to maintain its power and its wealth. All hope lies in the forces of tomorrow, which are with the people. — **Emile Zola, 1840-1902, French novelist**

Puerto Ricans Dramatize Struggle for Independence

The Movement for Puerto Rican Independence is conducting a series of meetings throughout Puerto Rico to dramatize the struggle for the island's independence.

The actions began Sept. 12, the birthday of Pedro Albizu Campos, Puerto Rico's martyred independence leader, and will close Sept. 23 with a mass meeting at Lares where the "Call of Lares" was issued.

A major theme of the scheduled meetings, rallies, marches, picket lines and other demonstrations is opposition to compulsory military

service under the flag of the imperialist United States.

Another theme is opposition to a plebiscite to "settle" the island's future.

The period from Sept. 12 to Sept. 23 was set aside by the delegates at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana last January as international days in support of the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

The final mass meeting in Lares will be held at the Plaza de la Revolución. It will be addressed by leaders of the MPI. General Secretary Juan Mari Brás is scheduled to give the main speech.

Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

AFRO-AMERICAN VIETNAM RALLY. Representatives from the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam speak on the Negro viewpoint against the war. Fri., Sept. 30, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

CANADA'S LABOR PARTY: The New Democratic Party. Speaker, John Steele of the NDP. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

PROTEST MEETING FOR HUGO BLANCO and Other Victims of Political Repression in Latin America. Speakers: Paul Sweezy, editor, *Monthly Review*; Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lt. Governor; Pedro Juan Rúa, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; John Gerassi, author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*; and Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*. Fri., Sept. 30, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

WHY THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY SUPPORTS BLACK POWER. Speaker: Jack Marsh, SWP candidate for Congressman, fifth district. Fri., Sept. 30, 8:30 p.m. 1704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

... Blanco Given 25 Years

(Continued from Page 1)

prisoners. An advertisement appeared two days later in the same paper under the sponsorship of the Federated Center of Law of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, making a similar appeal.

Abroad, meanwhile, it was reported that Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre had joined the list of distinguished figures appealing to President Belaúnde for an immediate amnesty for Hugo Blanco and his co-defendants.

The final days of the trial, as gathered from often contradictory newspaper clippings sent to *World Outlook*, went as follows:

On Sept. 3, as reported last week, the day began with the reading of depositions allegedly made by the defendants during the investigation conducted by the military tribunal. The court then decided to question eight of the Quechua-speaking prisoners. These were Andrés González Tejada, Francisco Cayo Palomino, Octavio Antonio Huanca, Nemesio Bocángel Zavala, Juan Pando Páucar, Basilio Alvarez Sacca, Gregorio Surco Quispe and Emilio Fernández Ojeda, all of them from Quillabamba and all members of the peasant union organized under the leadership of Hugo Blanco. Three interpreters were brought in so that the judge could cross-examine them.

As reported by the Tacna correspondent of the Lima daily *La Cronica* (Sept. 4), the eight declared:

"Because of the misdeeds committed by the large landowners of Quillabamba, Hugo Blanco organized the peasant union and when the guard Briceño on Nov. 9, 1962, killed a boy 15 years old and shot at two other peasants, Blanco realized he should pay for his misdeeds." It was the killing of the youth, they added, that set off a peasant rebellion.

"We were brought into the trial," they also declared, "be-

cause the police forced us to make declarations under torture and the military judge threatened us and we did not have any attorneys to defend us."

"We joined the peasant union," they added, "in order to stand up against the misdeeds of the large landowners, especially Romainville, who paid us 20 centavos a day."

They stated that they brought food from Quillabamba to Hugo Blanco at Ipala. This was a hide-out where the group led by Hugo Blanco and Pedro Candela Santillana went, after the skirmish at the Pucyura police post where the guard Hernán Briceño was killed and some arms were seized. On the way to Ipala, Blanco's group ambushed pursuing troops at Mesacancha, killing two soldiers, Anibal Valencia and Américo Carter.

These incidents constituted the basis for the formal charge lodged against the defendants of stealing arms and killing three members of the armed forces. And this was the basis, too, for the prosecution denying the political nature of the trial.

Death Penalty

During the hearing Sept. 3, the most dramatic moment came when Jesús Fernández, the "auditor" of the War Council, a kind of consulting judge in the military tribunal, demanded the death penalty for Hugo Blanco. It was an ominous development, for it fit in with the many predictions in the press that while the prosecution would demand a 25-year sentence, the judges would make it death.

On Sept. 4, the defense attorneys filed vigorous protests against the prosecution's use of the term "murderers" in referring to the defendants. Doctora Laura Caller cited the Declaration of Human Rights which calls for respect for human dignity.

The judge submitted four defendants to cross-examination. He

questioned Fortunato Torres for two hours. Torres, who spoke only Quechua, responded to every question with the same word, "Manan" [no].

Defense Attorney Dr. Marcial Chalco asked that Torres be given a psychiatric examination, stating that he had suffered a nervous breakdown due to the mistreatment and torture he had been submitted to during the three years he had been held in prison.

Moisés Paz Huaca, another of the four, categorically denied any participation whatsoever in the Pucyura skirmish. He said he had known Hugo Blanco only through hearsay and through "the actions he carried out in the mountains in favor of the rights of the peasants." He said that when the police tortured him, they broke his collar bone and his leg.

It is not clear from the newspaper accounts what occurred on Sept. 5 as the case continued.

On Sept. 6, the judge questioned Pedro Candela. The defendant said that he was with Hugo Blanco for nine months, but during the skirmish in which Briceño was killed, he was posted 800 meters away and only heard the shots.

Hugo Blanco was then placed on the stand. He was questioned for two hours, but very little of what he said concerning his political views and aims in the peasant struggle appeared in the biased Peruvian press. Among the reported highlights was his declaration that he was not going to "finger" anyone and that he assumed full personal responsibility for the deaths of the three civil guards.

He indignantly denied that he had committed any crime and said that he was guilty only of initiating an agrarian reform. "I am contented with everything I have done for the peasants and I can die now tranquilly."

At one point before the packed courtroom, Hugo Blanco levelled an accusing finger at the consult-



FREEDOM FIGHTER. Hugo Blanco, center, and fellow peasant leaders.

ing judge who had demanded the death penalty. "If the death penalty is going to be applied against me," he said, "then don't let a guard be the one to have to fire the shot, but the auditor Fernández — with his own hand!"

In face of the tumultuous response of the audience and Hugo Blanco's shouts of "Tierra o muerte!" [land or death], the judge suspended the hearing.

On Sept. 7, the hearing opened with crowds at the door and a big police detail. For the prosecution, Comandante Oswaldo Paulinich demanded 25 years for Hugo Blanco, 22 years for Pedro Candela, various prison sentences for the 39 named in the indictment (of whom 29 were in the courtroom) and damages of 150,000 soles for the three families of the civil guards, plus a fine of 15,000 soles.

The prosecutor recommended the release of two defendants who were not present, Doroteo and Andrés Aguilar, and two in the docket, Fortunato Vargas and

Bernardino Quispe. In the latter instance, the prosecutor admitted, it was a case of mistaken identity. It was really "Teodoro Quispe" who was wanted.

Speaking for the defense, Dr. Alfredo Batillana sought to bring out the humanitarian aims of the defendants as well as their political views. He also challenged the jurisdiction of the court, stating that the charges should have been brought before a civil court. The military, he said, not only acted as the prosecution but also as the judge. If the defendants were found guilty, he said, he would take the case clear to the supreme court.

The next day, Pedro Candela's attorney, Doctora Laura Caller, continued the line of argument advanced by Dr. Batillana. She was followed by Dr. Marcial Chalco who contended that on the specific charges the majority of the defendants were completely innocent and ought to be released. He ended by saying, "If the tribunal does not absolve them, history will absolve them."

A lawyer appointed by the court for some of those absent, said they could not be properly tried in their absence and the charges should be dropped.

After recessing for eight hours, the judge opened the final session of the court. As the big crowd filtered in, the police searched them thoroughly, even making them open match boxes.

The judge said that some of the defendants, although guilty, were "illiterate and semi-civilized." Therefore he dismissed the charges against them.

José Zuñiga, Basilio Alvarez and Emiliano Fernández were condemned to serve two years in the penitentiary. Lucio Bengolea was given four years. Aniceto Muñoz, Luis Carpio and Humberto Carazas each got five years.

Pedro Candela was given 22 years, his sentence terminating Feb. 15, 1985. Upon hearing the sentence, Candela shouted, "Long live the revolution!"

Hugo Blanco was sentenced to 25 years, his sentence terminating June 5, 1988. He rose to his feet and said, "Tacna has passed down its sentence. The people will soon hand down theirs. Tierra o muerte!"

The other defendants echoed the cry, "Tierra o muerte!" The audience responded with such fervor that the judge ordered the courtroom cleared.

Both Hugo Blanco and Pedro Candela at once stated that they would appeal the savage sentences passed against them.

... National Antiwar Mobilization

(Continued from Page 1)

for the antiwar movement to reach the GIs with the facts about the war and to defend the democratic right of servicemen to express their views on the war.

A special report by A.J. Muste on the status of the Fort Hood Three Case was warmly received and a message of solidarity was sent by the conference to the three imprisoned soldiers.

In opening the conference, Prof. Greenblatt explained that the professors who organized the national teach-in had started out with the belief that if only the true facts were brought to the government and the people there would be a change of policy. They finally came to recognize, he said, the problem was not one of "mistakes" but a determination by the government to win a definitive military victory in Southeast Asia. This can be countered, he declared, only by building an effective, united opposition to the war.

Prof. Peck stressed that the participants must think in terms of a resurgence of the antiwar movement and the development of its own initiative.

"We are going to show the American people, and the world," he declared, "that regardless of the profound and real difficulties of an ideological, political and other sort that separate and divide us, and that represent genuine differences in the constituencies that we represent — that nevertheless we have come to realize that we can no longer allow these difficulties to loom as obstacles in the development of a unified effort."

The ultimate objective, he said, should be "to develop some kind of mechanism, a kind of ad hoc means . . . by which this new kind of unified approach, based on a healthy respect for difference and diversity, and a recognition that the differences are real . . . but that the unified expression of the

operation is crucial, and somehow there will be a kind of mechanism that will allow for the continuation of this new tendency, this new development, to provide the essential groundwork and the basis for a mobilization of truly massive proportions in the spring."

In the discussion following Prof. Peck's report, proposals were made for activities during the national mobilization. All of the suggestions are being forwarded to antiwar groups throughout the country. In addition to the proposals to bring the message of the antiwar movement to the GIs and demonstrate solidarity with them, there were proposals for a new round of sit-ins, a student strike, a campaign against the draft, moves to link the antiwar and civil rights forces and numerous others.

Sponsors

Several participants discussed campaigning for "peace" candidates inside and outside the major parties, but there were no proposals on this other than to include it among the variety of other suggestions being circulated around the country.

A group of sponsors, representative of the forces to be involved in the mobilization, was agreed upon. In addition, an administrative committee was established to carry on the practical work of organization. A. J. Muste will be working chairman of the committee, with offices at 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038. Pat Griffith of Cornell University will be administrative secretary with offices in Ithaca. (Inter-University Committee, P.O. Box 701, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.) Frank Emspak of the NCC will be field secretary.

In addition to the message of solidarity with the Fort Hood Three, the conference adopted a resolution condemning the drive to destroy SNCC and declaring full solidarity with that organization.

It was agreed that the Nov. 5-8 mobilization organization be a temporary one. Following the fall actions, however, there will be another conference to assess the mobilization and to consider the possibility of further winter and spring action as proposed by Prof. Peck.

As of this writing, the individuals sponsoring the fall mobilization include: Jo Graham of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Barbara Bick of Women Strike for Peace, Edward M. Keating of *Ramparts*, Prof. Sidney Peck of the Inter-University Committee, Prof. Robert Greenblatt of the I.U.C., Dr. Otto Nathan of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, Gordon Christanson of CNVA, Floyd McKissick of CORE, Carl Oglesby of SDS, Sandy Lee of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Frank Emspak of the NCC, Gus Horowitz of the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter, Sy Cassidy of California Liberal New Politics.

Jack Spiegel of the Chicago Shoe Workers Union, Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party, Sidney Lens of the Chicago Building Service Employees Union, Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, Jerry Grossman of Mass. Pax, Arthur Waskow of National Conference on New Politics, Franklin Alexander of the DuBois Clubs, Lew Jones of the Young Socialist Alliance, Deirdre Griswold of Youth Against War and Fascism, and A. J. Muste, chairman.

Message to Fort Hood Three

The following is a text of telegrams sent by the Cleveland antiwar conference to the Fort Hood Three, Pfc. James Johnson, Private Dennis Mora and Pvt. David Samas:

"We are outraged at the harsh punishment served against you for refusing to participate in the Vietnam war. Your courageous stand against the war has not only been a source of inspiration to us, but to thousands of American people including servicemen like yourselves.

"Today we are gathered together in Cleveland from a wide spectrum of organizations and many parts of the country to discuss future mobilizations for the antiwar movement. We take this occasion to promise a redoubling of our efforts to publicize the facts about your case and to organize protests aimed at winning your freedom."

Watts and Harlem

By Robert Vernon
And George Novack

15 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East Third St.,
New York, N. Y. 10003

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 30 - No. 34

345

Monday, September 26, 1966

Veteran Trotskyist Wins Release from Polish Jail

The Gomulka regime has freed Ludwig Hass, an old Polish Trotskyist, according to Huw Price, writing in the Sept. 10 issue of *Freedom*, the British anarchist weekly.

"Ludwig Hass, one of the five ex-communist Poles imprisoned after two separate trials during the last year for opposition by organization and document to the Polish state and Communist Party, has been freed during the last week," Price reports. "This is partly due to the fear of embarrassment to the government if he died in jail, since it is thought that he is in poor health. It is also partly due to the demonstrations in England and in America which singled out Hass as the main figure." Huw Price does not indicate his source of information.

Hass, together with Romuald Smiech and Kasimierz Badowski, was sentenced last January to three years in prison for political opposition to the regime. They were advocates of proletarian democracy.

The case was linked to the condemnation in May, 1965, of two youths on similar charges. Karol Modzelewski was given three and a half years and Jacek Kuron three years in a trial that attracted international attention due to the fact that Karol Modzelewski was the son of a top government official.

Among those who protested the political trials and sentences was the well-known historian Isaac Deutscher. In an open letter to



Gomulka

Gomulka and the Central Committee of the Polish Workers party, he said that he had known Hass since before World War II. He was "a member of the Communist, so-called Trotskyist, organization, of which I was one of the founders and mouthpiece. He then spent 17 years in Stalin's prisons, concentration camps and places of deportation. Released in 1957, he returned to Poland so free from all bitterness and so strongly animated by his faith in a better Socialist future that he at once decided to join your Party; and he was accepted as a member."

Meeting in N. Y. to Hear Report of Cambodia Mission

NEW YORK — A group of prominent citizens who went on a fact-finding mission to Cambodia to investigate U.S. charges that the country is a sanctuary for south Vietnamese guerrillas and a source of supply from north Vietnam, will report on their finding at a meeting Tuesday evening, Sept. 27. The meeting sponsored by Veterans for Peace, will be held at Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52nd St. Ossie Davis will be a special guest.

Members of the mission to Cambodia who will speak at the meeting are: Sgt. Donald Duncan, formerly of the Green Berets;

Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE; Russell Johnson of the Quakers; and William Worthy, foreign correspondent of the *Baltimore Afro-American*.

The U.S. has already bombed a Cambodian border village and has been laying the propaganda basis for an invasion of Cambodia with its unproven charges that the so-called "Ho Chi Minh Trail" runs through Cambodia, and that south Vietnamese guerrillas have been given free access to refuge in the country.

The fact-finding mission members also included author Kay Boyle and Rabbi Israel Dressner.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53222.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone EVERgreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party, LA 2-4325.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

The body of literature about Malcolm X continues to grow. The publication last year of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (Grove Press) and *Malcolm X Speaks* (Merit Publishers) stimulated several useful appraisals in magazines and newspapers throughout the country. Since then, there have been several more, in books and periodicals, among which the following are noted for the convenience of readers who want to look them up:

White Papers for White Americans by Calvin C. Hernton (Doubleday, 1966) contains a chapter on Malcolm as an "existential Negro" who best represented the black masses.

Home: Social Essays by LeRoi Jones (Morrow, 1966) contains a chapter, "The Legacy of Malcolm X, and the Coming of the Black Nation," which presents Jones' views on the need for a black nation.

Freedom — When? by James Farmer (Random House, 1966) has some material on Malcolm, not always factually accurate, in the chapter where Farmer discusses his and CORE's re-evaluation of black nationalism.

[Two earlier books, both 1965, that contained some treatment of Malcolm, were *Confrontation: Black and White* by Lerone Bennett, Jr. (Johnson Publishing Co.) and *Who Speaks for the Negro?* by Robert Penn Warren (Random House).]

The first book about Malcolm was published in Japan a few months ago. It is *The Black Revolt: Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas* by Ei Nagata, and the publisher is Sanichi Shobo. The author spent some time in New York in 1964-65 and was present

D.C. Lawyer to Handle Appeal of 3 Convicted in Malcolm X Murder

Edward Bennett Williams, one of the nation's most prominent constitutional lawyers, announced in Washington, Sept. 7, that his firm had been retained to appeal the conviction of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm X. The three, Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Williams said he had been retained by "friends and those closely related to the accused men."

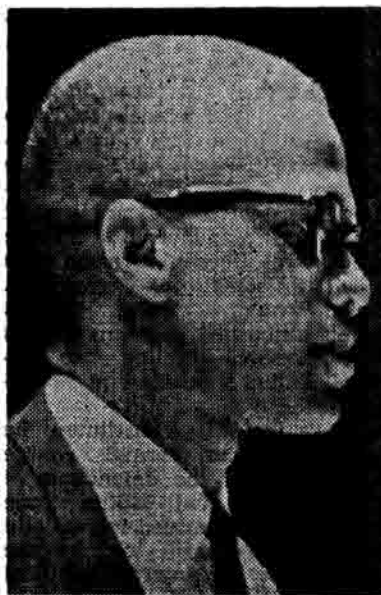
At the trial, the three men were defended by court-appointed lawyers. Butler and Johnson were known members of the Nation of Islam. Hayer, the only one definitively established to have been at the scene of the killing, has denied any connection with the Muslims. The Chicago headquarters of the Muslims has declined to comment on Williams' statement.

The Black Panther Party

Speech by John Hulett — Interview with Stokely Carmichael — Report from Lowndes County

25 cents

Merit Publisher
5 East Third St.
New York, N.Y. 10003



Malcolm X

when Malcolm was assassinated. A translation of the table of contents indicates that it is a serious work.

A very educational and enjoyable article about "The Rhetoric of Malcolm X," by John Illo, appears in the *Columbia University Forum*, Spring, 1966. The author teaches English at Monmouth College and also teaches a lot about contemporary morality in this article.

Eldridge Cleaver, the talented young writer who is serving a long prison sentence in California, "went with the Malcolm faction" when the Black Muslim split took place. His "Letters from Prison" in the August *Ramparts* includes a letter reporting how he and other prisoners received the news about the assassination.

Milton Henry, the militant attorney from Pontiac, Mich., who was converted to Islam under Malcolm's influence, sees Malcolm as a prophet in the tradition of Moses and Jesus who "will in time be central to the development of a newer, fuller and more vibrant Islam in America and to the development of a code of conduct and a strategy by which black people, now oppressed, can become free." His article in the March-April issue of *Now!*, "New Glory Visits Malcolm X," also contains interesting information of a non-religious character. (The address of *Now!* is Box 697, Detroit, Mich. 48206; a single copy of this magazine is 25¢.)

Of things to come:

Dudley Randall and Margaret Burroughs have announced plans to edit an anthology of poems dedicated to Malcolm, to be published by Broadside Press, 12651 Old Mill Place, Detroit, Mich. Poems for consideration may be mailed to that address.

Sylvester Leaks of New York is reported to be working on a biography of Malcolm, and I understand that a professor in Italy is writing a book about him.

I have completed a short book, *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary*, to be published this fall by Merit Publishers.

William Melvin Kelley, the young novelist, who covered the Malcolm X murder trial in New York last winter, has written an analysis which will be published by one of the "big slick" magazines, according to the *June Negro Digest*.

Frank Kofsky, the jazz critic, has written one of the best overall articles on Malcolm that I have read. It appears in the current issue of *Monthly Review*.

There are now two long-playing records on the market. The magnificent "Message to the Grass Roots," containing Malcolm's

speech in Detroit in November, 1963, shortly before he left the Black Muslims, was issued by the Afro-American Broadcasting Co., Detroit, shortly before the assassination. The second, "Malcolm X Speaks Again," was issued after Malcolm's death, but was taped only a few weeks after he left the Black Muslims. Issued by Twenty Grand Records, New York, it contains Malcolm's answers to questions, divided into five parts: Violence and Non-Violence; Human Rights and Civil Rights; Birmingham Sunday School Bombing; The Ballot or the Bullet; Black Nationalism. Both records may be obtained from Lewis Michaux's National Memorial African Bookstore, 2107 7th Ave., New York. I understand other records are under consideration.

Finally, although this is not about the Malcolm literature, but about his influence among the black masses, I cannot resist ending this with a quotation by Pete Hamill in his informative report from Watts, in the Aug. 15 *New York Post*:

"Everywhere in Watts there is an almost exaggerated pride in blackness, or what Senghor of Senegal called 'negritude.' The Southern Christianity of Martin Luther King, with its emphasis on humility and love, seems to have been shunted aside permanently and replaced with something that is closer to the tradition of Malcolm X. The language of the rural South has given way to the language of cities.

"What you are seeing here," one young schoolteacher told me, "is Malcolm without bull. Pride in blackness, pride in our women, pride in our culture and traditions. But without the religious garbage. There's Muslims here still, but no one is much interested in making Elijah Muhammad rich."

"In the Watts Happening coffee shop, a cavernous place built in the shell of an abandoned furniture store, the young people of Watts talk constantly about Malcolm. If they hear you are a reporter, they ask whether you ever interviewed him. They want to know how he is thought about in New York or Chicago, and whether he has been forgotten. In the streets in the afternoons, you see a lot of young kids wearing Malcolm T-shirts or sweat shirts. In death, 'Big Red' from Detroit is more important than ever.

"There's a Malcolm hang-up," one social worker said. "Everything you propose to these kids is measured and talked about. They try to figure out whether Malcolm would approve or not. It's like censorship by a ghost."

—George Breitman

Special to Readers Of The Militant

Three Pamphlets On Malcolm X

Only 60c

- Two Speeches by Malcolm X
- Malcolm X Talks to Young People
- Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas by George Breitman

order from

MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East Third St.
New York, N.Y. 10003

ASSAILS S. AFRICAN RACISM

Franz J. T. Lee Heard at UN

[The following address was delivered before the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, Sept. 14, by Franz J. T. Lee. Mr. Lee is presently touring the country speaking on the situation in South Africa, for the Alexander Defense Committee.]

First of all, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to address you and to present the views of a significant section of the oppressed peoples of South Africa.

There is a widespread belief, held frequently by South Africans and non-South Africans alike, that the liberatory movement within the country has been crushed; that it is no longer realistic to expect that the oppressed peoples of South Africa themselves will rise up and put an end to the apartheid tyranny. This despair in the ability of the South African masses to end their bondage through their own action has nurtured the idea that only outside intervention can prevail against that tyranny. It has been hoped that economic sanctions or the threat of armed intervention would compel the South African government to modify its policies.

Yet, the historical record makes all such hopes appear utopian. In the face of universal condemnation of apartheid by the civilized world, neither the unilateral actions of those states in a position to bring pressure to bear on South Africa, nor the behavior of international bodies in which these same states possess great influence, suggests that they have the slightest real interest in significantly modifying the conditions under which the non-whites of South Africa live.

The recent decision of the International Court of Justice on the status of South West Africa is only the latest, if especially eloquent, testimony to this fact. And that the magnificent work of this Special Committee, in gathering and analyzing information, in exposing the horror of apartheid to the view of the whole world, and in making concrete proposals, has left not the slightest trace in the behavior of nations, has convinced even the most hopeful that it is futile to expect international intervention by states to force an end to oppression in South Africa.

Foreign Investment

The reason for this state of affairs is not hard to determine. At the end of 1962, foreign investment in South Africa amounted to \$4,222 billion, 60 percent of it being British and 11 percent American. In the same year, the average net profit to net worth ratio for U.S. firms operating in South Africa was 25 percent. Ninety-nine percent of mining capital, 94 percent of industrial capital, 88 percent of finance capital and 75 percent of commercial capital was controlled by foreign investors. To expect the home countries of these investors to impose sanctions on South Africa is to expect them to impose sanctions on themselves.

If there is no prospect of radical change from within, and if it is a delusion to expect significant change to be imposed from without, then the future of the non-whites of South Africa appears grim indeed. But such conclusion of despair, would, I am convinced, be totally unwarranted. For there is, in fact, a very real prospect of revolution in South Africa. The forces that will bring this revolution have been developing for more than 30 years: and they are maturing now at an ever-increasing rate. This process has been intimately connected with the history of a group of organizations, little-known outside of South Africa, which have clustered around the Unity Movement of South Africa.

Since, as I am convinced, the

program and policy of the Unity Movement contain the key to the coming South African revolution, it is important briefly to review that history.

One of the consequences of the British conquest of South Africa, of the defeat of the Boer Republics, was the creation of a stratum of non-white intellectuals bound by ties of gratitude and privilege to the dominant English section of the population. To the non-white masses, British power appeared as a protection against the barbaric rapacity of the Boers. Thus arose a dependence on "English" politics, on the varieties of liberalism.

In 1932, however, the "English-Afrikaander" reconciliation, promised in the Act of Union of 1910, was consummated with the Hertzog-Smuts coalition. By 1936, the liberal nationalist coalition had produced the three notorious "Hertzog Laws," which robbed Africans of the last vestige of parliamentary franchise, robbed them of the last remnants of their land and robbed them of all free access to the labor market.

This liberal betrayal had an electric effect on the African population. In Dec., 1935, an All-African Convention of some 500 delegates, representing virtually



Frank J. T. Lee

every African peasants', workers' and professionals' organization, met to consider what action should be taken against the impending Hertzog Laws. The Convention established itself as a permanent federation of organizations and adopted a program demanding full democratic rights and policy of absolute non-collaboration with the oppressor, of total self-reliance for the oppressed in their struggle. The program adopted at that time can be summarized:

- 1) Universal franchise; the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect, and be elected to, parliament and all governmental bodies.
- 2) Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children, with free meals, free books and free school equipment for the needy.
- 3) The right of habeas corpus and other elementary principles of due process.
- 4) Freedom of speech, press, assembly and association.
- 5) Freedom of movement and occupation; abolition of pass laws and all restrictions on non-whites to live and seek work where they please.
- 6) Abolition of all color bar laws; the guarantee of equal rights to all citizens.
- 7) A just re-distribution of land among those who till it.
- 8) Elimination of the system of taxation which burdens most heavily those least able to pay; enactment of a single progressive tax.
- 9) Complete equality of all citizens before the law; abolition of all punishments incompatible with human dignity.

10) Equal pay for equal work; equal access to apprenticeships and job opportunities; enactment of a minimum wage for all.

Not all the leaders of all the organizations originally affiliated to the All-African Convention were able to withstand the combination of intimidation and promises of privilege brought to bear by the government. Organizations that left the Convention developed alternative strategies based on various kinds and degrees of compromise with liberalism. Those that held fast to the radical democratic program of the Convention, to its policy of absolute non-collaboration and to its principle of the necessity of the unity of the oppressed in struggle, prepared the way for the next great step forward.

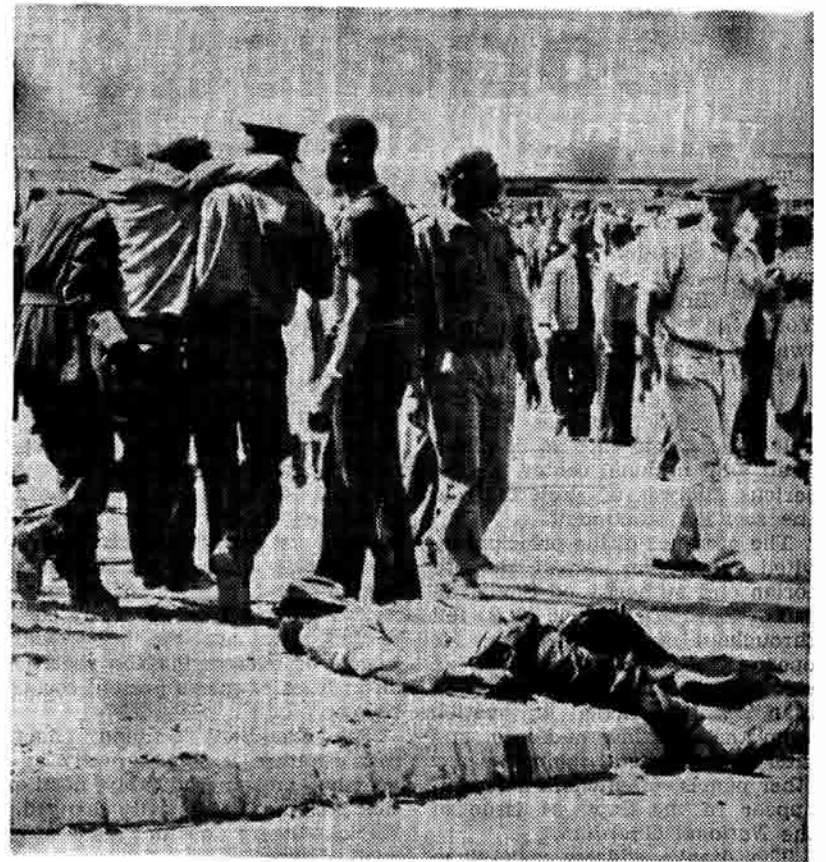
By 1943, a militant struggle was being conducted by broad sections of the Coloured people, who perceived in the government's proposed Coloured Affairs Department a disaster comparable to that which befell the African people with the passage of the Hertzog Laws. The time had come to broaden the base of the struggle by uniting all of the oppressed, not merely Africans, against their common enemy. The Unity Movement of South Africa was established at the initiative of the All-African Convention. While some organizations in the liberation movement, among them the African National Congress and the Indian Congress, did not affiliate, for the first time the wall separating the different sections of the oppressed population had been significantly breached. The Unity Movement adopted the 10-point program and the policy of non-collaboration as its own.

Peasant-Workers

Since its founding in 1935, the All-African Convention has recognized that the key to the South African liberatory struggle lies in the migratory peasant-workers. They constitute not only the most numerous group in South Africa, but also the most bitterly exploited. Hence, they possess the greatest revolutionary potential. Through the organizations affiliated to the All-African Convention and, after 1943, to the Unity Movement, the 10-point program and the policy of non-collaboration were incessantly propagated among this group. By 1960, in response to the ever more inhuman oppression, but also, I am convinced, as a consequence of the years of patient and often lonely propaganda efforts of the Unity Movement, a great mass upsurge spread across South Africa. Perhaps the most dramatic, and certainly the best known expressions of this upsurge, were the brutally suppressed revolt in Pondoland, where peasant committees actually exercised state power for several months, and "anti-pass" demonstrations at Sharpeville, where so many were martyred at the hands of Verwoerd's police.

The actions of that year were mostly ill-conceived and badly led; and from these tragic errors, the liberatory movement must learn. But these terrible and wonderful events demonstrated not only the heroism and tenacity of the African people; they also demonstrated with certainty that, for the first time in modern South African history, a real revolutionary base already existed. The peasant-worker masses were moving.

Under these circumstances, a new kind of organization became essential. For propaganda work, and for developing leadership, the numerous organizations federated in the Unity Movement were excellent instruments. But to organize the oppressed masses into a unified force capable of bringing down the entire structure of the oppressive society, a more central-



S. AFRICAN MASSACRE. Scene following notorious Sharpeville massacre.

ized leadership was required. Thus, in 1961, a political party, the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa, was formed to carry out the task of mass organization around the 10-point program and the policy of non-collaboration. As its name indicates, with the designation of "Southern" as opposed to "South" Africa, with the formation of APDUSA, another element of the liberatory struggle was made explicit, namely, that this struggle is essentially continental.

Since the upsurge of 1960 and the founding of the APDUSA, government repression has grown ever more intense. The "State of Emergency," which is still in force in the reserves, the "Ninety-Day Detention Law," the "One-hundred-eighty-day Detention Law" and the "Sabotage Law" — all have been and are still being used ruthlessly by the regime in a desperate attempt to decapitate the mass movement by banning, imprisoning, torturing and killing the leaders of all tendencies and organizations of the liberatory movement. Nevertheless, APDUSA and Unity Movement organizers have been able to penetrate every pore of South African society, to bring the program and the organization to the mines, and to the fields and villages of the reserves, to the plantations and the factories; to whatever place the oppressed people are gathered.

Movement Grows

As a result of the labors and the sacrifices of APDUSA, several of the largest peasant organizations in South Africa have affiliated to the Unity Movement during the past three years. Since 1963, both the Makhuluspan and the Fita Khomo have been won to the Unity Movement. The Unity Movement has thus become a mass organization. This ever-increasing willingness to accept the leadership of APDUSA is scarcely consistent with the view that the liberatory movement is demoralized, that the organized resistance to the apartheid regime has been crushed. Quite the contrary: It indicates that, in the face of the most intense persecution, the movement is growing not only larger, but also tougher, more resilient.

With the continued growth, qualitative as well as quantitative, of the liberatory movement, such acts of individual terrorism as the assassination of Verwoerd, will become increasingly rare. We deplore acts of individual terrorism because they do not advance the struggle for freedom and dignity. The history of such terrorist actions has amply demonstrated their futility. Only through mass action, only through the mobiliza-

tion of the oppressed people around a correct program, can the monstrous system of apartheid be overthrown.

Verwoerd's assassination will merely mean the replacement of Verwoerd by someone equally, or even more, reactionary. The system remains; only the administration changes. And this change may involve an intensification of the oppression. Already there are signs that the South African government will use the assassination as a pretext to close the few remaining gaps in the totalitarian wall surrounding the non-whites of South Africa.

Nevertheless, the liberatory movement will continue to advance towards its inevitable goal. There will be defeats and there will be betrayals. But no repressive measures and no marginal concessions can very long deflect the forward sweep of the South African masses from its historic destiny: the total obliteration of apartheid and the system of economic exploitation which it serves.

Once more, Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my thanks to you and to the other members of the Committee for the opportunity to present this statement. I would also like to express my thanks to the Alexander Defense Committee for making possible my trip to the United States to help raise funds to aid the persecuted victims of apartheid. Such work as the ADC conducts is not only commendable from a humanitarian point of view; it is also, by its effect on the morale of those struggling in the liberatory movement inside South Africa, of great political significance.

215 at U of Florida Hear Anti-Apartheid Fighter

By Jan Garrett

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — A Sept. 15 talk by South African freedom fighter Franz J. T. Lee to 215 University of Florida students here inaugurated the activities of the U. of F. Socialist Union, an independent campus formation made up of socialist students of various anti-imperialist persuasions.

Lee's lecture, the "Liberation Struggle in South Africa," brought the questions of African liberty to this "cracker belt" university in such an effective, personal and poignant way that those who heard him can never forget it. The questions he got were intelligent, and, despite the general ignorance about South Africa, quite often right to the point. Press coverage in both the campus and Gainesville papers was ample and quite accurate, despite minor errors.

Socialist Scholars Conference

By George Novack

Two thousand people from all parts of the United States, with some visitors from Canada and England, attended the second annual Socialist Scholars Conference at Hotel Commodore, New York, September 9-11. This was twice the number of participants last year. The growing interest in radical ideas among intellectual and student circles has enabled the Conference to establish itself as a national center for the serious analysis of subjects from the socialist standpoint.

The presence of the principal invited guest from abroad, the historian and authority on Soviet affairs, Isaac Deutscher, was felt throughout the proceedings. He opened the conference with an eloquent discourse on "Socialist Man," which elicited an ovation from the overflow audience, and later contributed comments on other panels. (Deutscher's talk will appear in the Sept. 24 issue of the *National Guardian*.)

The dinner address was given by Prof. Conor Cruise O'Brien, Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities, New York University, on "Intellectuals, Public Opinion and International Relations." He called upon socialist scholars to challenge and change the false and dangerous image of the world spread by the propagandists inspired by the Pentagon to justify its activities as international policeman of counterrevolution. Since this role is not recognized by most Americans, it is all the more imperative for independent opinion-makers to expose it.

Marxist View

Deutscher developed his views on socialist man in accord with classical Marxism. The man of the future cannot be positively portrayed before the conditions for his emergence have been brought into being. Until then he can merely be negatively defined in relation to and reaction against class society. "But such negation is at the same time affirmation."

The character of socialist man cannot be deduced from the downtrodden and alienated men of today or be a copy of the petty-bourgeois model offered by neo-

capitalism. However, "the germ of socialist man is present even in the alienated society of our time when working men cooperate to better their conditions, even though they are all too often imprisoned by them."

Deutscher examined the chief objections to the socialist prospects of remaking humanity put forward by Existentialists, Freudians and Keynesians. The Existentialists ask: "What is the purpose of man's existence set against the infinity of space and time?" This very query of the theoreticians of absurdity is "itself absurd because it implies an ultimate metaphysical mission of humanity." What we must be really concerned with are the ways and means of overcoming the specific absurdities of man's present social being.

The Freudians contend that man's nature is so inherently aggressive and ineradicably hostile that it cannot be basically changed. Marxist theory does not make any such dogmatic assertions or unhistorical assumptions about human nature. Men are the products of their social conditioning which brings out certain potentialities while submerging and distorting others.

While paying tribute to Freud's revolutionary contributions to psychodynamics, Deutscher stated that he failed to make due allowance for the transmutation, or sublimation, of man's instinctual drives by his social identity. Freud and his disciples misconstrue socialist man as a variation of bourgeois man. But bourgeois man is not "man at large"; he is the historical outgrowth of the private property system. Although personal aggressiveness was not created by private property, it has been intensified and exploited by the partisans of private property. Men have fought far more wars over property interests than over sexual relations.

The Keynesian upholders of neo-capitalism recognize in their own way the conflict between the socialized productive process which unites contemporary society and the private ownership which disunites it. But their eclectic, half-



Isaac Deutscher

hearted measures offer no more than a pseudo-collectivist control over the economy. They resemble a peasant who harnesses an auto, or a jetplane, to a horse.

As irrefutable proof of the utopian character of the provisions of Marx, opponents of socialism point to the typical man in Soviet society. However, socialist man does not exist in the Soviet Union, China or "any of their associated or disassociated states." Socialism by definition presupposes a collectivity of "free associated producers" functioning under a planned economy which steadily diminishes the burdens of social inequality until it reaches a classless and stateless society.

The post-capitalist states are still far from that. They suffer from low productive capacity and a scarcity of consumer goods which have led to deep divisions between the more privileged and the most deprived sectors and a terrifying growth in the oppressive function of the state. Stalinism pulled the lofty ideas of socialism down to the level of Russian misery. "We in the West bear a heavy responsibility for these limitations because through our failure to extend the socialist revolution we are the ultimate cause of their failure." Our task is to get rid of all Stalinist dogmas and disfigurements that have demoralized the labor movement and confused socialists. We must raise socialism back to its proper height, he concluded.

Reject Workers

Prof. Herbert Marcuse, who was unable to be present in person, submitted a set of propositions which will not surprise readers of his recent work on "One-Dimensional Man." He asserted that the Marxist conceptions and conclusions are outmoded and must be revised or rejected because they are no longer radical or utopian enough. Contrary to Marxism, the working class has become hostile to socialism and anti-revolutionary. Neither revolution nor reform can transform advanced capitalism. New forces which scientific socialism did not take into account, such as the morally indignant and sexually rebellious youth, must be looked to for liberation.

This line of reasoning was carried to its logical extreme by Shane Mage of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. He too proclaimed that Marxist theory was outdated and bankrupt and Marxist politics had collapsed. As "inalienably free conscious beings," we can be emancipated from repression and oppression only through developing a "new consciousness and a new religion." This internal individual revolution was attainable through "psychedelic voyages" induced by the use of LSD.

Robert Wolff of Columbia condemned this quest for personal liberation through drugs as an infantile regression and a reac-

tionary retreat from the political arena.

Deutscher observed in his summary that such turning away from the working class and resort to personal escapism was a "disquieting symptom and strange by-product" of the ideological ferment among the young generation of American socialists. Marx's teachings have not been superseded because the basic contradictions of capitalist society he illuminated have not been overcome but have grown deeper, more dangerous and irrational.

If the conference signifies that Americans are trying to shake off their backwardness in ideology, the fantastic nostrums advanced by Marcuse and Mage show how much remains to be done. Deutscher compared the present situation of radical intellectuals in this country with the plight of the nineteenth-century Russian intelligentsia which was also isolated from the masses and had to combat Czarism by itself. Instead of seeking salvation through drugs or sex, socialist scholars had to turn toward "the sleeping giant of American labor" and bring the ideas of socialism to it. Unless this is done, socialism has no future in the United States.

The economic and political role of the industrial working class was approached from various angles, and this theme unintentionally assumed a pivotal place in many of the discussions. The orthodox Marxist positions were challenged in various ways. These ranged from total disqualification of the progressive capacities of the workers to a question mark placed over the revolutionary potential of the American workers by some on the left. There is a big job of clarification and education to be done on this key issue.

The final symposium on "The Legacy of Negro Slavery" was one of the best attended sessions. The paper by Prof. Eugene Genovese disputed the thesis that Negro revolts were plentiful or widespread under American slavery. He contended that, despite strong undercurrents of recalcitrance and resistance, the bondsmen by and large accommodated themselves to their situation.

Because of their adjustment to a plantation paternalism, the Negroes acquired a psychology of dependency which was not thrown off during Civil War or Reconstruction but has persisted to the present. Black nationalism aspires to cast aside this harmful heritage. Booker T. Washington in his fashion, Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X represented successive efforts to assert the dignity, self-reliance and manhood of the Negroes.

While deprecating unpoliticized and "nihilistic" violence, Genovese hailed black power for its challenge to white paternalism.

After chiding Genovese for failing to mention the work of Negro historians in his paper, Herbert Aptheker insisted there was massive evidence of armed resistance to the slave regime in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was false to say that most slaves accommodated themselves to their servitude; they were subjected to domination. He stated that Genovese exaggerated black nationalism, that the goal of the Negro struggle was integration in an equalitarian society, and that the slogan of black-white mass power must be counterposed to the cry for black power.

Synthesis of Views

As Prof. C. Vann Woodward noted, Frank Kofsky of the University of Pittsburgh sought to synthesize valid aspects from the contending viewpoints. Kofsky agreed with Aptheker that there was ample record of revolt from the early days of slavery through the Civil War and Reconstruction and that Booker T. Washington could not be regarded as a herald of black nationalism. As against Aptheker, he saw black nationalism as the contemporary embodiment of the centuries-old traditions of revolt directed against all forms of white tutelage. By unifying the Negro masses as an independent force, the black power movement could become a keystone of an eventual alliance of black militants, white radicals and colonial rebels against U.S. imperialism.

Other informative panels dealt with the origins of the popular front in France and Spain, revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, economic reforms in the Soviet bloc, realism in literature, poverty and powerlessness, a critique of Baran and Sweezy's new book *Monopoly Capitalism*, the political ideology of American corporate liberalism, and contemporary imperialism. Some of these papers are to be published in *Science and Society* and *Studies on the Left*.

At the business meeting, the steering committee announced it will try to organize regional conferences in the midwest and on the Pacific coast next year. The structure of the Conference will be regularized on the basis of dues-paying membership. A slate of national officers and a new steering committee of ten, all resident around New York, were elected. Prof. Genovese will be the next president of the Conference.

Berkeley VDC Files Suit To Remove Campus Ban

BERKELEY — The fight of the campus Vietnam Day Committee here against an arbitrary decision by the university administration to bar the group from campus was taken into the courts.

Vietnam Day Committee attorneys Garry, Dreyfus and McTernan were granted a *show cause* order Sept. 17 by Judge William J. McGuinness against the university administration. Peter Camejo, a member of the VDC steering committee, is suing the university's

board of regents, demanding the VDC be given a hearing on its campus status, as required by campus regulations. The *show cause* order requires the university to explain why a writ requiring a hearing should not be issued.

The VDC's case rests on the right of any campus organization to be granted due process under university regulations. The *show cause* order means that Judge McGuinness will hear the case.

Since August, when the VDC was kicked off campus, the administration — without passing any new rules — has begun to restrict student organizations in general. Groups are being limited even in the number of rooms that can be reserved. If every registered political group reserved a room every night it would involve no more than 20 rooms. The administration claims there aren't enough rooms to meet the demand, but since there are only a few classes in the evening, there are actually hundreds of rooms available.

At a meeting between students and some of the university chancellors, Camejo requested that no rule be enforced until it is in writing, and that no empty room be denied any group. Chancellors Cheit and Boyd became angry, and Cheit yelled "Most people don't want conflict like some people!"

Peking vs. Moscow
The Meaning Of the Great Debate
By William F. Warde
The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint
50 cents
MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

...New York SWP Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

With the nominating petitions filed, the SWP nominees are getting into the swing of campaign activity. The first open air rallies of the campaign will be held in Harlem and in Greenwich Village this week. Judy White has already spoken before the Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam and will speak this week at an election symposium at the Free University.

On Sept. 17, Judy White and Paul Boutelle participated in panels at the annual *National Guardian* picnic. There was a record attendance of 2,500 at the picnic and large numbers of people attended the panels. Judy White was heard in the panel on The Electoral Process and Political Change. Other participants included Robert Frost, the peace candidate who was defeated in the New Jersey Democratic primary election for U.S. Senator, Herbert Aptheker and Hal Levin, candidates for Congress in Brooklyn's 12th C.D. and a number of other candidates who are critical

of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Judy White presented the idea that those who ran independent of the major parties without presenting a fundamental programmatic alternative to them only bolstered the myth that the capitalist system, which is responsible for the evils they are opposed to, can be reformed from within. It is necessary, she said, to present a socialist program for basic change, along with an immediate program of action.

Paul Boutelle participated in the panel on Black Power and White Alliances. This panel had the biggest attendance of the day and evoked the most discussion. Boutelle was very well received as he explained how the concept of black power developed, why it went in a revolutionary direction and why it should be supported by all radicals. He said white radicals should support the movement for black power by promoting class struggle politics and should accept the idea that it means that black people intend to develop their own leadership.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

L. A. Students Back 3 GIs

Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles students seeking to publicize and gain support for the Fort Hood Three among GIs in this area have now been shown that even the simplest act on their part makes them liable to arrest. On Sept. 6, eight students distributing leaflets and talking to GIs individually at Union Station train depot, were immediately put under citizens arrest by the station guards. The L.A. police were then called in to book and jail the eight under charges of loitering.

In response to these arrests, the UCLA Vietnam Day Committee, at an evening press conference, called a protest rally for the following night which drew 200 people to the station. The demonstrators, hearing the facts of both the Fort Hood Three case and that of the eight arrested students, spent the rest of the evening distributing literature at both the train station and nearby major bus terminals.

Because of the favorable response that this and previous actions have brought from GIs, and because they realize the importance the Fort Hood Three case has for the antiwar movement, the local activists are determined that a major part of all future activity be devoted to this defense work and the fight for civil liberties in the armed forces.

I would also like to report that we are all anxious to participate in the reception being planned for General Ky's November visit to the newspaper editors convention in San Diego.

K. E.

Cuba Welcomes Research

Richmond, Calif.

It occurred to me that your readers might be interested in an exchange of letters between myself and Dr. Celestino Alvarez Lajonchere. Dr. Alvarez is director of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology of the Medical School of the University of Havana and a member of the Ministry of Health of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. I had sent Dr. Alvarez a reprint of my work on how good prenatal nutrition prevents toxemia in late pregnancy.

Dr. Alvarez expressed particular interest in my work. He said that since the revolution, eclampsia, a

dangerous prenatal disorder, has been virtually eliminated in Cuba, but that they are still concerned with the problem of toxemia and premature births. I have recently attempted to interest officials in the U.S. Public Health Service in these views with no apparent success.

It is quite clear why officials in the Ministry of Health of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba are interested in this scientific view, while officials of the reactionary U.S. government don't really give a damn about the plight of our own American "poor."

I have received encouraging support in my work from Dr. Acosta-Sison, well-known academic obstetrician in Manila, from Dr. López-Llera, professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Mexico and Dr. W. O. James, a general practitioner who works among the working class in rural Wales.

As time passes and my book, *Metabolic Toxemia of Late Pregnancy — A Disease of Malnutrition*, is reviewed, I hope to establish communications with other physicians in the socialist countries and use these contacts in my course, *Disease and Social Class in the United States*, which I am now conducting in the Free University, Berkeley.

We have a grave responsibility and challenge to oppose the brutal war-mongering ruling class in our nation and win the support of the broad masses of our fellow Americans to restore some dignity and respect to our flag and the ideals of our original American Revolution which has been totally betrayed.

Tom Brewer, M.D.

Frei's Challenge to Castro

New York, N.Y.

Regarding Chilean President Eduardo Frei's challenge to Fidel Castro to show which of their regimes is doing more for the people, the Associated Press reported Sept. 10 that the cost of living in Chile went up 17 percent in the first eight months of this year.

And that is according to the figures of the Chilean government.

H. C.

New School 'Loyalty' Oath

New York, N.Y.

I have been informed that Dean Allen Austill of the New School for Social Research has cancelled my course, "Marxism and American Intellectual Decadence," at what he refers to as "my request."

This is patently untrue. The basis of the cancellation is my re-

fusal to sign the oath of loyalty which the New School now requires of its teaching personnel.

I see no reason to accede to the mentality which would view teachers as a breed of dangerous, potentially subversive people who must be subjected to special oaths and pledges not required in the society in general.

The Free University was created in response to exactly that sort of perspective. It is with profound dismay that I now learn that the New School (whose origins 40 years ago were very similar to the Free University's today) shares the loyalty oath provision together with other Establishment institutions.

As for the cancelled course, I shall teach it at the Free University this fall.

Allen M. Krebs, Ph.D.
President

Free University of New York

Road to Black Power?

S. Korthright, N.Y.

George Breitman in his recent article on black power discusses the correct mode of electing representatives who will speak to the true needs of the Negro people. He finds it important to decide whether the existing Democratic Party or some completely new party is going to best serve the needs of Negro people in this respect.

It Was Reported in the Press

Tough-Situation Dep't — The Aug. 20 issue of *Chemical Week*, a widely-circulated trade journal, featured a cover photo of antiwar pickets at the Union Carbide Co. An accompanying story described the escalated picketing of companies manufacturing napalm and poisonous war chemicals. The article concluded on this plaintive note: "Process company executives have pointed out that defense business is usually less profitable than commercial business, and that it's almost impossible to refuse a Pentagon order. The government sets foreign policy, they point out, and a corporation has to abide by that policy."

Our Poll-Conscious President — The Sept. 19 *New York Times* reported: "Congress is ready to kill a civil rights bill for the first time in three years, and some presidential advisers say Mr. Johnson is convinced the public mood will not permit any 'big and bold' programs for Negroes." Isn't it strange, when the polls show the public doesn't want the war in Vietnam the President firmly says he'll just have to go against public opinion.

Mounting Toll — About 300 New Yorkers have been killed in Vietnam — all but 98 of them in the past nine months.

Adding Insult to Injury — A check by the New York Department of Markets revealed that every supermarket chain in the city except one has been giving short weight on their own brands of milk, butter and cream. The inspectors found 15-ounce "pounds" of butter and 31-ounce "quarts" of milk. A check of 500 pounds of butter showed that 85 percent contained less than the pound promised on the package. Inspectors said the short-weighting is city-wide since each market gets its supplies from a central distribution plant. Such fraudulent practices are considered a civil offense, not a criminal one.

Only in America — Braniff Airlines reports its patronage has increased 30 percent since it began

Thought for the Week

"I feel I must put on record how thoroughly disgusted I am concerning the incidents in Grenada, Miss. . . . These white people are the scourge of mankind. How is it that American Negroes are not good enough to sit by white children in schools and colleges but are good enough to fight the white man's dirty wars for them . . . ? It make me wonder how the American troops in Vietnam treat their 'colored' prisoners. Judging by the films the British people have seen on television, I shouldn't think they stand much chance of survival." — A letter from Sheila Ruth Veck of London to the *New York Times*.

I think, however, that this question has already been answered in practice: neither mode will let Afro-Americans elect their true representatives. The white power structure, in fact, has shown that it will not even allow these duly elected true representatives to take their rightful seats in the governing bodies of state or national government. Julian Bond's seat is yet empty in the Georgia legislature, as are the seats of those from the MFDP in the national legislature.

The white power structure has no intention of letting real black champions of freedom into any government of the U.S., no matter how legally the election is carried out. It begins to become apparent that the black communities of the nation will have to abandon elections as a path to power, will have to seek some other means of speaking for the Negroes of America.

Kay L. Jacoby

Fan Mail Dep't.

Philadelphia, Pa.

I am a regular subscriber to *The Militant* and enjoy reading the paper more every month. In times like ours, it is necessary for someone to keep a clear head and carry out a Marxist program. I congratulate you on a wonderful paper with the only correct program.

R. S.

A Dirty Story

Phila., Pa.

A Philadelphia wrecking company has a slogan on its trucks saying, "Your dirt is our money." Capitalists do anything as long as there's profit in it.

A while back it was "Police Week" in Philadelphia. To advertise this great week they had posters all over town saying, "Your troubles, our career." Looks like they inadvertently told the truth there.

Amy Lowenstein

Announcing The

Fall 1966

International Socialist Review

Featuring Joseph Hansen on the roots of U.S. counter-revolutionary strategy in Vietnam; George Novack on the political crisis in China; Ernest Germain on current developments in the USSR; Franz J. T. Lee on Bantu education in South Africa; a 1933 open letter by Leon Trotsky to revolutionaries in South Africa; a 1964-66 index.

- ☐ Please send me the Fall ISR for 50¢.
☐ Please send me a year's subscription to the ISR for \$2.50. [6 issues]

International Socialist Review
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Name
Street
City State Zip

FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Name
Street Zip
City State

Int'l Figures Support David Mitchell Case

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — The End of the Draft committee released a "Joint Declaration on the Mitchell Case" — initiated by philosopher and mathematician Bertrand Russell — in support of the "Nuremberg" draft refusal of David Mitchell. Last April Mitchell was convicted of refusing to participate in the draft and sentenced to five years in prison. He is free on bail pending appeal.

A decision from the U.S. Court of Appeals is expected next month. Mitchell will be speaking at a rally for him on Oct. 6 at the Community Church, 40 E. 35th St.

The declaration on the case is signed by Russell and by Gunther Anders, philosopher and author now living in Austria; Max Born, the physicist who received the Nobel prize in physics in 1954; Josue de Castro, the Brazilian scientist who headed the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization; Vladimir Dedijer, Yugoslav political scientist and author; and Danilo Dolci, social activist in Sicily and author of works on world poverty.

Their declaration states: "The United States government is using gas, chemicals, poison and other atrocious weapons in an aggressive war against the people in

Vietnam. This is being done in violation of International Agreements including the Geneva Agreement of 1954, The Geneva Convention, the United Nations Charter, the Kellogg-Briand Treaty and the Nuremberg Agreement of London.

"The stand of David Mitchell in refusing to become a war criminal through compliance in this war of atrocity is entirely justified and deserves the widest public support. Both in legal and moral terms we declare our full endorsement of his action and we hold that it is not David Mitchell but the United States government and its crimes against humanity which are on trial. We urge the American people to support David Mitchell. We appeal to American youth to follow his example."

Mitchell has been tried twice for his stand. His first conviction by a federal court in New Haven was reversed by the Court of Appeals on the grounds that his defense, citing the Nuremberg Agreement, etc., had been ruled out. However, despite the Appeals Court ruling that this was "of basic importance" he was again denied, in the second trial, the right to demonstrate the illegality of the Vietnam war.

Man Without a Country Has 6th Gov't Hearing

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — The sixth hearing in which the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) attempted to prove that Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities Socialist Workers organizer and senatorial candidate, had forfeited his citizenship by participating in Canadian political life, was held here Sept. 19.

After a series of four hearings, the case was heard last April by the INS Board of Appeals. The board sent the case back to the local level so that the INS could better establish the credibility of certain evidence and introduce additional evidence.

The new evidence produced — a document supposedly showing why the 1958 Canadian records are not obtainable and an article from the Canadian Workers Vanguard concerning the 1958 election — will probably have no significant effect on the case.

INS Special Inquiry Officer Irving R. Freedman determined that Johnson had been in the cus-

tody of the FBI during the 48 hours during which he had supposedly overstayed a U.S. visitors permit, and dismissed that charge.

For the first time, Johnson was informed that he could apply 1) for suspension of the deportation order, and 2) for adjustment of status as an alien to that of a permanent resident. This application would have no prejudicial effect in the case. It means that in case of an unfavorable decision, Johnson would not have to leave the U.S. immediately.

Freedman will issue a decision in the case before the middle of October. If it is unfavorable, Johnson intends to appeal.

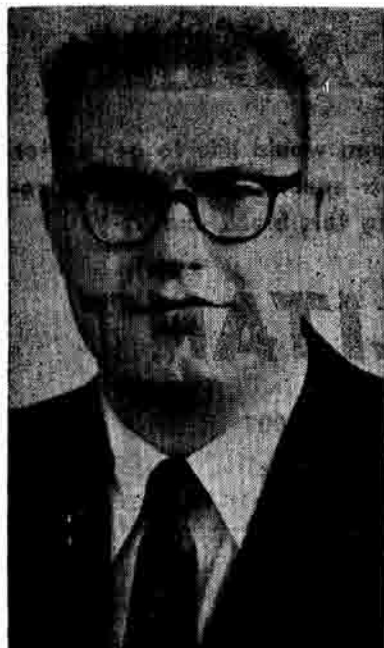
Win on One Issue, Lose on Second in Twin Cities Case

MINNEAPOLIS — The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union will appeal recent convictions of antiwar activists for "breach of peace." The charge stemmed from a July 6 street meeting held here by the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Lee Smith, Joseph Johnson, MCEWV chairman Larry Seigle and Keith Ruona were convicted Aug. 31. Another charge against Seigle, failure to display a regulation-sized flag at the street meeting, was thrown out by Judge Bruce Stone, on the grounds that the flag ordinance was unconstitutional.

Seigle was fined \$75; Johnson, who is running for U.S. senator on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, was fined \$50; and Ruona and Smith, \$25.

The original arrests occurred when police broke up a peaceful street meeting of the committee. The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union provided defense attorneys Lyn Cassner and Douglas Hall to fight this harassment of the antiwar movement.



Joseph Johnson

Fort Hood Three Subjected To Barbarous Treatment

By Barry Sheppard

Mrs. Grace Mora Newman is the sister of Pvt. Dennis Mora, one of the three courageous GIs recently court-martialed for their opposition to the war in Vietnam. Mrs. Newman discussed the case with me on Sept. 19. She had visited her brother in the stockade at Fort Meade, Md., the day before, and discussed the treatment the GIs are suffering in the stockade.

The case of Pvt. Mora, Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas — the Fort Hood Three — began last June 30 when the young men announced at a press conference the filing of an injunction against the government. They were seeking to prevent the government from sending them to Vietnam, on the grounds that the war was "illegal, immoral and unjust." Before they could carry their battle through the courts on the legality of the war, the army had them arrested and took them to the stockade at Fort Dix, N.J. In August, they were given direct orders to go to Vietnam. When they refused, they were court-martialed for refusing an order.

Pvt. Mora received three years in prison, forfeiture of pay and a dishonorable discharge. Pfc. Johnson and Pvt. Samas also received dishonorable discharges and forfeiture of pay, but their jail sentences were five years — in spite of the fact it was the same case. The three GIs are all in the stockade at Fort Meade, awaiting transfer to the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas.

Conditions for the antiwar GIs in the stockade were uppermost in Mrs. Newman's mind. "My brother Joe, my mother and uncle and I drove out to Fort Meade yesterday," she said. "When we got there, a Captain Buxton, who is in charge of the stockade, called us in his office. He told us of the regulations, and referred to Dennis by his first name, and called me Grace — you know, very friendly."

"I asked him about the conditions. At Fort Dix, the bedding was taken from them at five o'clock in the morning, which is the middle of the night. David told me during the court-martial that a doctor used to come and question them every morning on how they were feeling. David told him one morning that they were freezing. The doctor said, 'Well, you have enough hot air in you to take care of that.' Captain Buxton said they didn't have anything like that at Fort Meade."

Bedding Removed

"When we saw Dennis, he told us they take the bedding away every morning, except for Saturday and Sunday. When the bedding is brought back at five in the afternoon, his shoes and everything have to be displayed on the bed. During the day, they are not allowed to sit down on the metal slab the mattress rests on. There are no chairs — only the slab and a toilet bowl. They are still under maximum security, in individual cells."

"Once, Dennis was leaning on the wall, and this Captain Buxton came around and saw him. He had to do 15 push-ups for that. They have to stand in that cell all day long without sitting. Another time, he was sitting on the floor, or on the bed, and was also made to do 15 push-ups."

"Dennis told us they eat in the cell — on the floor, or else on the toilet bowl."

"There is a white line painted on the floor directly in front of the cell door, and they have to stand there at attention while



Grace Mora Newman

they are counted. Dennis was standing on the line a little bit and he had to do 15 push-ups for that.

"They are not allowed to receive any mail," Mrs. Newman explained, "except from six relatives on his visiting list. And only three of the relatives are allowed to see him on any one Sunday, for an hour."

Mrs. Newman urged the letters of protest against these conditions be sent to Col. Cunningham, Fort George Meade, Md. The GIs may remain in the stockade there for some time before being transferred.

15 Years

I asked Mrs. Newman what sort of person her brother is. "When this started," she said, "he thought he might have to do 15 years. He was willing to go to jail for 15 years rather than participate in a war of genocide. And he could have done it in a lot of different ways. He could have avoided the draft, gone AWOL or been discharged for bad conduct."

She read a handwritten statement from Pvt. Mora, written in Fort Dix just after the court-martial. "We are proud of our dishonorable discharge in times when we are asked to serve in a brutal war of aggression against humanity and peace. An honorable man can only do the honorable and right thing, and not serve. We feel confident our action has not been lost in the wilderness of lies and hypocrisy our foreign policy is today. We know that all decent and democratic Americans will see the justice of our cause. More importantly, we hope our action has moved other young men to thinking and questioning this corporate establishment . . . We have done only a part of what remains to be done for peace in Vietnam. The American people

will get on with the work of putting an end to the bombing and burning. They are our judges. They will find us innocent."

"From the time he was old enough to get around, Dennis was involved in civil rights, sit-ins," Mrs. Newman said. "He is a member of the DuBois Clubs and was always against the war. He told me and my brother that to go to Vietnam would be like coming in here to destroy my family."

"When he was inducted, he went down and told them he would go into the army, but wouldn't fight in Vietnam. They sent him home and said they would investigate him, which they did for a year and a half while he worked for the welfare department. After the investigation, he was called down to the induction center again."

"This time he distributed leaflets on the war. They tried to stop him. Somebody threw a punch at him, and he flattened a sergeant or somebody, and was arrested by the police. A few days later, the FBI took him downtown and told him he should fight for his country. Dennis told them he was doing more for his country than those who follow blindly."

Man of Purpose

"He had always said he wouldn't go to Vietnam. I know him well enough to know when he says 'I'm going to climb that mountain,' he is going to do it, and he has a purpose. He is that kind of man."

"I think his fight, his stand, is tremendous. There is nothing else he could have done."

Discussing the other two soldiers, Mrs. Newman said she didn't know them or their families until the case broke, but she got to know them then. "The Johnsons are devout Catholics and very strong-willed people. They are standing behind Jimmy 100 percent. The same is true of David's family."

The convictions of the Fort Hood Three come up for automatic review by the first week in October, before Lt. General William F. Train, commanding general of the first army. He may uphold or reverse the convictions, or may reduce the sentences.

Mrs. Newman urged readers of *The Militant* to send Lt. General Train letters demanding the release of the antiwar GIs, and a reduction of Pfc. Johnson's and Pvt. Samas' sentences to three years at the very least.

If Lt. General Train upholds the convictions, an appeal will be made to the Military Court of Appeals, the highest military court.

"We will take the case to the Supreme Court if necessary," Mrs. Newman said. "To carry on this legal fight, we will need funds."

Contributions to aid this struggle may be sent to the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038.

Muste Lodges Protest Over Treatment of Fort Hood 3

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 — Rev. A. J. Muste, co-chairman of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, vigorously protested today the treatment being accorded Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pvt. David Samas at Fort Meade. In a telegram to Provost Marshal Col. Cunningham of Fort Meade, Muste cited the treatment being suffered by the three GIs. He further said:

"I have also learned that one

of the men was told by an officer that his conditions could be altered if he would agree to go to Vietnam. All this strikes me as a crude form of brain-washing designed to induce them to break with their courageous and legal stand . . . We are deeply distressed that young and highly conscientious American citizens should be subjected to such treatment as these men are now experiencing and trust that you will take steps immediately to stop it."